United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

76th
PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 13 December 1993
at 10 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY
(Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 25

QUESTION OF THE COMORIAN ISLAND OF MAYOTTE

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/447)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.48)

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Comoros to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.48.

Mr. MOUMIN (Comoros) *(interpretation from French)*: With the collapse of ideological blocs that had kept the threat of war alive over several decades, the improvement of East-West relations and the emergence of democratic forces now augur a new and promising era of peace and well-being for our respective peoples. This new dynamic gave hope to the people and Government of the Comoros for a decisive turn of the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte. We were in fact convinced that new possibilities had emerged in the relations between the Comoros and France on this question. But we must note that our General Assembly has been seized with the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte for the eighteenth consecutive year.

I should like on this occasion to express the great hope inspired in the people and Government of the Comoros by the inclusion of this item in the agenda of our debates. Indeed, it reflects the will of our Organization to contribute very actively to the search for a solution to the problem of Mayotte. This commitment also responds to the United Nations desire to comply with the principles of our Charter, especially in the context of respect for State sovereignty. We should like in this connection to express our profound appreciation to our Secretary-General and to the States Members of our Organization.

In order better to inform the delegations here, which certainly must be interested in understanding the origins of the Franco-Comorian dispute over the Comorian island of Mayotte, I should like briefly to describe the genesis of this problem.

Having established its presence on Mayotte in 1841, France proclaimed the entire Comoro Archipelago - composed of four islands: Anjouan, Grande-Comore, Mayotte and Mohéli - a French colony in 1912. The decolonization of the Archipelago - first called for in 1972 and promised in 1973 following the agreements signed on 15 June 1973 - was carried out in 1974 under the Act of 23 November of that same year. This law, in its article 1, provides that

> "the peoples of the Comoros shall be consulted as to whether they wish to choose independence or to remain within the French Republic".

To the question clearly enunciated thus: "Do you wish the Territory of the Comoros to be independent?", the Comorian people, on 22 December 1974, expressed its

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93-87364 (E)

Distr. GENERAL

A/48/PV.76
23 December 1993

ENGLISH

opinion by an overwhelming majority in a vote of 94.56 per cent in favour of independence.

As a result of this vote, what could the Comorian people expect if not the proclamation of the independence of the Archipelago, with respect for its unity? This unity is not a mere administrative convenience, as some would have us believe. Quite the contrary: this unity is a reality based on various elements that have shaped the common history of the four islands of the Archipelago. These elements include the same religion, the same culture, the same language and blood ties, to name but a few factors.

To return to the vote of 22 December 1974, how could the people not be shocked after that vote, when they saw France put to the vote, on 3 July 1975, another law which called into question the preceding draft law on self-determination and asked that another referendum be held on an island-by-island basis?

Faced with this attitude, which disregards the interests and fundamental rights of the Comorian people to self-determination and to national unity, in flagrant contradiction to the applicable and applied principles of decolonization, the members of the Chamber of Deputies of the Comoros unanimously proclaimed the unilateral independence of the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros on 6 July 1975.

To the unpleasant surprise of the Comorian people, France recognized the independence of three of the islands, but reserved a different fate for the island of Mayotte, organizing two other referendums in Mayotte, on 8 February and 11 April 1976, which are without validity on the international level. Our Organization, in fact, reacting against this decision by France, adopted resolution 31/4 of 21 October 1976, through which it considers these referendums to be null and void.

The justification given by France for its attitude is that the population of Mayotte had expressed a majority view against independence. It should be recalled here that the law of 23 November 1974 on the organization of a referendum of self-determination in the Comoros stipulates in its article 5 that

> "while the classification of the results will be done on an island-by-island basis, the proclamation of the results will be global; moreover, the Parliament is to take a decision on how to follow up this referendum within six months."

From a legal standpoint, the French Government justifies its position by referring to the last subparagraph of article 53 of the French Constitution of 1958, according to which no territory can be ceded without the consent of the populations concerned. This, unfortunately, is backed by a decision of the Constitutional Council of December 1975. By declaring that the law on the dismemberment of the Comoros to be consistent with the Constitution, the Constitutional Council of the French Republic enshrined a concept of the law of peoples that disregards the principle of the indivisibility of colonial entities. This is an improper interpretation of the law of cession which, in any case, cannot be applied to the case of Mayotte. Article 53 was not applicable to the case of the Comoros because no territory was being ceded to a State. It was rather a case of pure and simple accession to independence.

In this way, France has called into question the sacrosanct principle of the inviolability of the borders inherited from colonization. This principle, which is also called the principle of *uti possidetis*, has become a custom of universal scope, codified by the charter on decolonization, in other words by the famous resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Paragraph 6 of that Declaration provides that

> "Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

As regards these provisions, France has violated the charter on decolonization. Furthermore, it has acted in a way that runs counter to its own commitments, if we refer to the agreements of June 1973.

The successive Governments of the Comoros would very much have liked not to doubt the sincere will of France to find a solution to this painful and regrettable problem - painful when we think of the wrenching emotion of a people unjustly divided just when they least expected it, and regrettable because we know that this attack on the unity and territorial integrity of our country, which has done us great harm, of moral and other sorts, was the work of the one country the Comorian people knew the best and on which it should have been able to depend for the defence of its own interests.

It has been up to that same country since the very beginning of the dispute, and it is still up to that country, to decide to put an end to the disarray in which the Comorian people have been living for 18 years now. But what have we seen since 1975? No concrete evolution of the problem of Mayotte. And yet, different assertions by the highest authorities of France had always given us hope, confirming France's recognition of the unity of our

archipelago. Let us recall, in this connection, that in 1974, the then President of the French Republic made the following statement concerning the question of Mayotte:

> "Is it reasonable to imagine that a portion of the archipelago of the Comoros should become independent and that one island, no matter what our feelings for its inhabitants, should have a different status? I believe that one must accept contemporary realities. The Comoros are a single entity and have always been a single entity. It is natural that they should have a common destiny. We must not, on the occasion of the independence of the territory, propose to break the unity of what has always been the single archipelago of the Comoros."

In order to clarify our discussion and give the Assembly as much background information as possible on this question, may I mention other statements by French authorities, especially that of the Secretary of State for Overseas Departments and Territories, dated 26 August 1974. He evoked the three following reasons which led the French Government to opt for a global consultation with the Comorian people on the question self-determination:

> "The first reason is legal: under international law, a Territory retains the boundaries it had as a colony. Secondly, it is inconceivable that there should be more than one status for tne various islands of the archipelago. And finally, it is not the intention of France to pit Comorian against Comorian. ...
>
> "France refuses to divide the Comoros, which share the same population, the same Islamic religion and the same economic interests".

During his visit to Moroni in June 1990 the President of France, Mr. François Mitterrand, made the following response to his Comorian counterpart, Mr. Said Mohamed Djohar:

> "We shall talk about this matter, but I believe that we must now take measures making possible constant communications and exchanges between the islands: between Mayotte and the others and between the others and Mayotte. Let there be no more barriers - theoretical, but not easily surmountable - between Comorians, for you and they are all Comorians.
>
> "Is France helping you regain your ancient solidarity? There are many forms of unity and, believe me, we are going to seek them".

We have been waiting 18 years, during which the Comorian people, peaceful by nature, have placed their trust in France and have chosen the path of dialogue.

The Comorian Government has always been, and remains, open to any solution that could put an end to the French-Comorian dispute over the Comorian island of Mayotte, in keeping with international law.

In this struggle for the reintegration of the Comorian island of Mayotte into the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, the people and the Government of the Comoros draw strength from the valued support of the international community and of international and regional organizations, which regularly consider this question and adopt resolutions reaffirming the sovereignty of the Islamic Federal Republic of Comoros over that Comorian island. That constitutes incontestable proof that our claims are just.

I cannot conclude without reaffirming our confidence in the ability of the United Nations to guarantee and safeguard the inalienable rights of all peoples, and to guarantee international stability and security, inseparable and indispensable elements for building a peaceful world. We therefore request again the good offices of the United Nations to help us find a just, speedy and legal solution to the problem of Mayotte, whose persistence harms our people's spirit and causes other damage.

The draft resolution before the Assembly is consistent with the recommendations of the United Nations. Its sole aim is to activate the negotiating process between the Comorian and French Governments so that the return of the island of Mayotte to the Comoros may take place as soon as possible. We earnestly hope the Assembly will adopt it.

Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): As we are all aware, one of the remarkable successes of the United Nations has been in the field of decolonization. Faithful to the Charter, and within the framework of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, resolution 1514 (XV), the United Nations has championed the right to self-determination of dependent peoples and Territories. Resolution 1514 (XV) declares that any attempt aimed at the partial or total destruction of the national unity and territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

In like manner, African States, by the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), have expressed their determination to safeguard and consolidate their hard-won independence and the sovereignty and territorial integrity

of their States. In the resolution it adopted on this issue at the Cairo Summit this year, the Assembly of Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity reaffirmed its solidarity with the Comorian people in their determination to recover their political integrity and to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and appealed to the French Government to accede to the legitimate claims of the Comorian Government.

It is in that context that the Sierra Leone delegation, together with other members of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, continues to view the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte - a question that has been before the Assembly for almost 18 years now. In line with the decisions of the General Assembly and the Organization of African Unity, the Sierra Leone delegation expresses its support for the sovereignty of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros over the island of Mayotte.

The delegation of Sierra Leone urges the Government of France, towards which my delegation harbours feelings of friendship and esteem, to accelerate the process of negotiations with the Government of the Comoros with a view to ensuring the effective and prompt return of the island of Mayotte to the Comoros. We are convinced not only that the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Comoro archipelago will thus be respected, but also that the peace and security that prevail in the region will be preserved.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): The consideration of the question of Mayotte in the General Assembly is as old as the independence of Comoros. Ever since the passage of resolution 31/4, the Assembly has, *inter alia*, underlined the necessity of respecting the unity and territorial integrity of the Comorian archipelago and of arriving at a lasting solution to the problem of Mayotte. Similarly, the territorial integrity and unity of Comoros have also been reaffirmed in resolutions adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Organization of African Unity.

In its latest resolution on the subject, adopted at the forty-seventh session on 27 October 1992, the Assembly once again reaffirmed the sovereignty of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros over the island of Mayotte, while bearing in mind the wish expressed by the President of the French Republic to seek actively a just solution to that problem.

The same position has been reflected in the conferences of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and by the Twenty-first Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held in Karachi in April 1993. There have been repeated international calls and support for the early resolution of the question of Mayotte.

The outstanding issue of Mayotte is essentially linked with the question of decolonization and is therefore a matter that concerns the international community. In this context, it is pertinent to recall General Assembly resolutions 3291 (XXIX) of 13 December 1974 and 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. These resolutions clearly maintain that the granting of independence or of the right to exercise self-determination applies to colonial entities and territories under alien domination as a whole and cannot be applied selectively. This principle remains equally applicable to the Comoros archipelago.

In the view of my delegation, constructive dialogue and peaceful negotiations are important for resolving differences and disputes between States. In this context, we note with a great deal of satisfaction the close contact maintained by the Secretary-General with all parties and his readiness to make available his good offices in the search for a peaceful resolution of the problem.

Pakistan enjoys traditionally friendly and cooperative ties with both France and the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros. We therefore encourage these two friendly countries to devote close attention to the early resolution of this outstanding and contentious issue.

Pakistan has been encouraged by the bilateral dialogues that have taken place between the Governments concerned at the highest level. Such dialogues, which flow from a spirit of cooperation and understanding and are built upon the foundations already laid by the relevant General Assembly resolutions, provide an important framework for the solution to the problem. This demonstration of political will must be supported by the international community at large.

The draft resolution (A/48/L.48) before us, which was so ably introduced by the Permanent Representative of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, is both moderate and balanced and reiterates the position of principle maintained by the General Assembly and other international forums. My delegation supports the draft resolution and expresses the hope that it will contribute positively to the process of negotiations and lead to an early solution of the problem on the basis of the recognized principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

In conclusion, my delegation commends the Secretary-General for his admirable efforts towards resolving this problem and requests him to continue to extend his good offices to the Organization of African Unity in the search for a negotiated settlement of the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) *(interpretation from French)*: France regrets that once again the question of the island of Mayotte, a territory under French sovereignty, is under consideration by the General Assembly. We can only oppose the draft resolution submitted on this agenda item.

None the less, my delegation listened attentively to the speakers on this item. It appears that everyone wishes to see a just and lasting solution. Indeed that is also France's position.

France has often stated its readiness to accept a solution to the question in conformity with both its national law and international law. Such a solution must also respect the will of the populations concerned. In this regard, the population of Mayotte has freely and democratically decided in favour of keeping the territory of Mayotte in the French Republic.

The climate of trust that has been established between the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros and the French Government makes it possible to hold a constructive dialogue, based on the strong ties of friendship and cooperation between our two countries.

We are convinced that such concerted action, pursued with a lasting desire for conciliation, calm and openness, will, despite the difficulties, make it possible to move ahead in the common search for an equitable solution. France will spare no effort to this end.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/48/L.48.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Cameroon, Chad, China, Comoros, Cuba, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: France, Monaco

Abstaining: Andorra, Armenia, Austria, Belgium, Burundi, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Micronesia (Federated States of), Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, San Marino, Slovakia, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The draft resolution was adopted by 91 votes to 2, with 36 abstentions (resolution 48/56).*

The PRESIDENT: May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 25?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEMS 38 (*continued*) and 39

ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA:

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/48/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/48/691)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/467 and Add.1, A/48/523, A/48/691)

(d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL AND DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE (FOURTH COMMITTEE) (A/48/657)

(e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/48/L.29, A/48/L.30, A/48/L.31/Rev.1, A/48/L.36)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA:

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/524)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.37)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the report of the Special Political and Decolonization Committee (Fourth Committee), issued as document A/48/657. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of that report?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to propose that, if there is no objection, the list of speakers in the debate on item 39 be closed today at 12 noon.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names in the list of speakers as soon as possible.

I call first on the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria.

Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid: The road to political change in South Africa has been long and arduous and marked by enormous sacrifice and suffering all along the way. With the end of the cold war, persistent international pressure, the stand-off between contending forces in South Africa, and the escalating violence and crippling human and financial costs of apartheid, it became clear to South African leaders, black and white, that the only way out was through broad-based negotiations. With the encouragement and support of Members of the United Nations and the international community, South Africans decided at long last to resolve their differences peacefully, setting, in the process, a remarkable example for other countries beset by political, ethnic and other forms of internal conflict.

Perhaps the most remarkable event in the process of peacefully negotiating an end to apartheid occurred on 18 November - less than a month ago - when the leaders of the parties participating in the multi-party negotiating process ratified the agreement on a constitution for the transition in South Africa. Together with an electoral bill and the bills adopted in October to enact a Transitional Executive Council (TEC), an Independent Broadcasting Authority, and Independent Media and Electoral Commissions, the whole transition package was in place, and all the elements will soon become fully operational. We have indeed reached the end of an era, and as Mr. Nelson Mandela has stated, "we are at the beginning of a new era."

The electoral bill provides the legal framework for the elections to be held on 27 April 1994, which will be South Africa's first non-racial, free and fair elections. Following the elections, the interim constitution will come into effect. Under the constitution for the transitional period, the national parliament will consist of a 400-member national assembly elected on the basis of proportional representation and a 90-member senate, which is to be elected by nine provincial legislatures. The national assembly will elect the president of the country. All South African voters will cast a single ballot for the party they choose to represent them in both the national assembly and the legislatures of the provinces where they reside. The new parliament will serve both as an interim parliament and as a constituent assembly mandated to draw up South Africa's permanent constitution.

A government of national unity is proposed to govern the country for five years, after which elections under the new permanent constitution will be held. Any party winning over 5 per cent of the popular vote in April 1994 will be entitled to a seat in this interim cabinet.

The agreed interim constitution abolishes the homelands and divides the country into nine provinces, each with an elected provincial assembly. These assemblies will administer education, health, police and other services at the provincial level and will elect the 10 members that will represent each province in the senate of the national assembly.

The interim constitution includes a Bill of Fundamental Human Rights which, *inter alia*, guarantees equality of race and gender; freedom of speech, assembly and movement; the right to vote; the right to fair trial; the right not to be exposed to torture and cruel or inhuman punishment; and the right of those dispossessed under apartheid to seek restitution. It also limits the president's power to declare a state of emergency.

There will also be an 11-member constitutional court appointed by the president to resolve any disputes or conflicts of interpretation of the constitution between different levels of government and to provide the ultimate guarantee that the rights of all South Africans enshrined in the constitution will be respected and protected.

On 29 January 1993 South Africa signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; the Convention on the Political Rights of Women; and the Convention on the Nationality of Married Women.

This encouraging development demonstrates that there is already a broad-based agreement that in a new South Africa human rights must be protected, and protected uniformly. We are convinced that early accession by South Africa to the Covenants on human rights would provide further reassurance in this regard, and could facilitate understanding and interpreting the various provisions of the Bill of Fundamental Human Rights now adopted.

These are undoubtedly positive steps in the long road to freedom in South Africa. None the less, there are reasons for caution and vigilance on the part of the international community. We know that the negotiating process has often been marred by an upsurge in political violence. There are still those in South Africa who openly threaten to derail the transition process. There are those extremists who are unwilling to abide by the rules of the democratic process. Political violence has claimed 10,000 lives in the past three years alone. South Africa's first one-person-one-vote election is barely months away. Recent studies indicate that growing numbers of South Africans participating in the electoral process are likely to be intimidated.

Operating under the supervision of the TEC, governing structures now have to shoulder without delay their full responsibilities to restrain the violence and to promote and protect the right of all South Africans to participate in the democratic process without intimidation. For peace, like freedom, is indivisible and lies beyond the contingencies of short-term politics. To contain violence in volatile areas of South Africa, much hope rests on the establishment of a multi-party peace-keeping force or arrangement.

Although a broad agreement on the principle of such a force was achieved some time ago, questions related to integration and control of such a joint force are still under negotiation.

It is necessary for the international community to welcome with satisfaction the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council as the first step in a representative Government, with persons of all races in South Africa now participating in a national governing body. This historic victory is to the credit of all South Africans and to their seasoned and dedicated leadership, both black and white. The wisdom and resilience which they have shown in the process were rightly acknowledged on 15 October this year, when the Nobel Peace Committee awarded jointly to Mr. Mandela and Mr. De Klerk the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of their visionary leadership and outstanding role in bringing the peace process forward. The award was presented at very impressive ceremonies in Oslo, Norway, on Friday, 10 December.

Some of the credit for the positive changes in South Africa must go to the international community, which has acted over the years with a determination and a unity of purpose almost unparalleled in the history of our Organization. The issue of apartheid was first brought before the Assembly nearly four decades ago. By taking a principled stand in support of the South African people in their legitimate struggle for equality of rights and opportunities for all, without which there can be no justice or freedom, our Organization has lived up to the noble objectives of its Charter and of the Declaration of Human Rights. It could be said that the Organization had, in the case of South Africa, for the first time given expression to the concept that gross and persistent violations of human rights go beyond the exclusive jurisdiction of the individual State and are a matter of legitimate concern to the international community as a whole.

Recently the decisions and activities of the Security Council, the General Assembly and of the Secretary-General have demonstrated once more the significance of the international contribution to the process of peaceful settlement in South Africa.

In a recent appearance at United Nations Headquarters, Mr. Nelson Mandela called on the international community, from this very rostrum, to end economic sanctions against South Africa. Following the recommendation of the Organization of African Unity, the Assembly decided, on 8 October, to remove all prohibitions and all restrictions on economic relations with South Africa and its nationals, and decided that the oil embargo should cease to have effect as of the date the Transitional Executive Council became operational. That has now happened. Last week, on 8 December, the Transitional Executive Council held its first formal meeting. The Commonwealth, the European Union and many individual Governments and State and local authorities also responded swiftly in support of Mr. Mandela's appeal by removing bans and other restrictive measures. Many Governments have now moved to open, resume or expand their diplomatic presence in South Africa in a process of normalization facilitated

through relations with the new, non-racial and democratic structures now in place.

I believe it is time to start looking at the enormous tasks that will face the new Government of National Unity when it comes into being - hopefully, in May 1994. First among the immediate post-apartheid problems will be to begin addressing the high expectations of the majority of South Africans for a better life. It will be very difficult for the new Government to deliver at the speed and on the scale which will be expected of it. Restructuring the economy of a country is a slow and difficult process normally. It will be infinitely more difficult in a post-apartheid South Africa. The interim Government of National Unity that will emerge must be given the chance and the means to consolidate the foundations of the new non-racial constitutional order and launch the country on a path of sustained growth and of development.

South Africa, reconciled with itself, has the makings of an economic powerhouse in Africa and in the world as a whole. Members of the international community, which have done so much individually and collectively to help bring about the demise of apartheid, cannot stop halfway in their support for a new South Africa, where the stakes are enormous, not only for South Africa itself but for the southern African region and for Africa as a whole and the world at large. It is hoped that this session of the General Assembly will adopt resolutions which will facilitate the continuation of the transition and the consolidation of a new non-racial and democratic South Africa, and which will reflect the will to assist the Government of National Unity in bringing tangible change in the conditions of the majority of South Africans. There is no time to lose in starting the process of reconstruction.

Some steps have already been taken. Following Mr. Mandela's appeal at the United Nations, both he and Mr. De Klerk embarked on a worldwide tour to encourage institutional investors and corporate executives, bankers and pension-fund trustees to invest and trade in the country. A number of foreign banks, in response to a joint plea endorsed by the main political parties and groups in South Africa, have agreed to reschedule a $5 billion debt, which was due for repayment by the end of the year. The deal, which will run until the year 2001, will enable foreign creditors to convert debt into investment, using the financial rand as an additional incentive.

Who can forget that in 1985 it was the foreign banks' decision to recall short-term loans that precipitated a liquidity crisis in South Africa and planted, as a prominent Afrikaner politician put it, "a last nail in the coffin of apartheid"? Similarly, we are encouraged by reports that the parties involved in the process of negotiations have agreed on the contents of a letter of intent to accompany an application to the International Monetary Fund for an $800 million loan that will offset South Africa's export losses, caused by the drought in the region. We are also encouraged by reports that the World Bank is prepared to contribute long-term development assistance as soon as detailed projects have been worked out and studied.

We all have a stake in the outcome of the South African process of normalization. It is not unreasonable, therefore, for the international community, having supported the oppressed in South Africa for so long, to expect that their leaders will now set aside the language of ethnic divisiveness, and other forms of sterile divisiveness, which erstwhile apartheid advocates so wrong-headedly tried to promote, and that they transcend their differences and build a common future by continuing to pursue inclusive solutions through negotiations with all the parties concerned.

The culture of consultation and negotiation across all barriers that has developed in South Africa over the last three years is in fact a source of great inspiration, hope and reassurance that political leaders, representing a diversity of South Africa's people, will be able to shape the future of their country not with rifles, not with spears, but with patient dialogue, with tolerance and a rational understanding of what their interdependence means for their own longer-term interests. The international community can only supplement their efforts by supporting and by encouraging their resolve and bringing material assistance to facilitate the transition to a free and equitable society.

The time has come for the United Nations to initiate and coordinate between its offices and agencies a process of detailed planning of programmes of socio-economic assistance, particularly in the areas of human-resource development, of employment and of health and housing, and to ensure that these programmes are coordinated effectively with other international agencies and with legitimate non-racial structures within South Africa itself.

Perhaps the immediate concern to all those assembled here, and indeed the concern of most South Africans, is to see to it that free and fair elections take place next spring with an adequate presence of international observers. Following my consultations in South Africa in March this year with a broad spectrum of high-ranking representatives of major parties and civic, religious, business, labour, media and other non-governmental leaders, I suggested, *inter alia*, that the United Nations begin examining immediately the requirements as to functions and capabilities of international electoral observers in South Africa, and that consideration should be given to the fact

that, for the effective monitoring of the election process as a whole, deployment of the observers would need to begin several months in advance of the actual elections.

Now that the Transitional Executive Council has become operational and the Independent Electoral Commission, as well as the Independent Broadcasting Authority, will soon be in place, there is an urgent need for consultations with the first two of these bodies and with the Security Council with regard to the assistance that the United Nations and the international community could provide in the electoral process. I am pleased to note in this connection that the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Security Council, has already started preparations for the complex and sensitive tasks involved.

I hope that these recommendations and others contained in the report of the Special Committee will enjoy the consensus by which for the past four years the United Nations has supported the process of peaceful change and the process of eliminating apartheid in South Africa by peaceful means.

As Mr. Mandela stated in his landmark address in this Hall last September, it is important that, with the ushering in of a new era, the vast network of non-governmental organizations with which the United Nations has maintained close cooperation for decades should shift the focus of their activities to the consolidation of democratic change and to development-related activities.

Last August the Special Committee sponsored a consultative meeting with non-governmental and community-based organizations focusing on the needs of rural and township communities in South Africa and on the role of international and local non-governmental organizations in helping to meet those needs. The meeting, which took place in Geneva, was attended by some 65 participants, including a number of non-governmental and community-based organizations from South Africa taking part for the very first time.

The Special Committee also co-sponsored a historic symposium on political tolerance, which took place in Cape Town last July and was attended by prominent South African editors, journalists and other opinion-makers inside South Africa. The other sponsors were two highly respected and independent South African non-governmental organizations - the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa and the Institute for Multiparty Democracy.

The Special Committee is currently making preparations for a seminar in London - originally planned for this month, but now postponed to January 1994 - to provide an international perspective on policy priorities of the new South Africa in the first few years of a non-racial and democratic Government. I would be remiss in the discharge of my duties as Chairman of the Special Committee if I failed to pay tribute to the outstanding work done over the years by the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, under the inspired and wise chairmanship of Ambassador Martin Huslid of Norway, and by the Trust Fund for South Africa, under the able and enlightened chairmanship of Ambassador Peter Osvald of Sweden. Together, they have provided much needed education and training assistance to large numbers of disadvantaged South Africans and equally necessary humanitarian and legal assistance to victims of apartheid. The Special Committee appeals to the international community to continue to contribute to these assistance programmes during this period of transition.

We now stand on the threshold of a new era in South Africa. On the one hand, it is full of promise, but on the other it is fraught with uncertainty and danger. While it is the South Africans themselves who must bring the process of peaceful political change to a successful conclusion, they need the continued moral and material support of the international community, particularly at this very critical stage. Let us not forget that their goal - a non-racial, non-sexist democracy - is also the goal that the international community has unanimously agreed to support in South Africa.

It is my hope and prayer that developments in South Africa will make it possible for the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly to be the last at which this agenda item is debated in its present form. I also hope and pray that developments in South Africa will make it possible for the Special Committee against Apartheid to present a final report to the General Assembly soon after the conclusion of the first non-racial, democratic election in South Africa, in 1994, a report which can be proudly stamped "Mission accomplished".

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Rapporteur of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Suresh Kumar Goel of India, to introduce the Special Committee's report.

Mr. GOEL (India), Rapporteur of the Special Committee against Apartheid: I have the privilege and honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/48/22). The report, whose contents represent the consensus views of the Special Committee against Apartheid, was adopted by the Committee at a formal meeting on 3 November.

This year's report highlights not only important developments with regard to the ongoing negotiations process in the country towards the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, but also the efforts of the international community - in particular, the Special Committee - to assist and facilitate that process.

The report consists of seven chapters: Introduction; Political Developments in South Africa; Socio-economic Situation in South Africa; External Relations of South Africa; I..ternational Response to Developments in South Africa; Review of the Work of the Special Committee; and Conclusions and Recommendations. There are also two annexes.

Extensive research and gathering of material during the past 12 months went into the preparation of the report. Sources include various institutes and research organizations, periodicals and special reports on various aspects of the situation and developments in South Africa, as well as statements and press releases of the Special Committee.

The report aims to present developments regarding South Africa, with the purpose of establishing a set of conclusions and recommendations to guide the work of the Assembly and that of the Special Committee in what the Committee hopes will be the culmination of its work and the fulfilment of its mandate.

The chapter on political developments in South Africa, which begins on page 5, could be called the core chapter of the report. It highlights the multi-party negotiations and the agreements reached with regard to elections for a constituent assembly and other important transitional arrangements in South Africa. It also reflects outstanding questions and issues still to be resolved within the framework of the negotiating process, as well as efforts to include and involve the broadest spectrum of political parties and views.

These efforts - in particular, bilateral meetings of parties and formations that have not participated fully in the process - are highlighted in section C, entitled "Other political developments relating to the process of peaceful settlement". The section includes a reference, in paragraphs 38 and 39, to the call made by Mr. Mandela, at the meeting of the Special Committee on 24 September, for the lifting of economic sanctions. In paragraphs 40 and 41 there is a reference to the address by Mr. Benny Alexander, Secretary-General of the Pan Africanist Congress, to the Special Committee on 28 September.

As the report was finalized by the end of October, subsequent developments, such as agreements on the constitution for the transitional period, an electoral Bill and the actual establishment of the Transitional Executive Council on 7 December, do not figure in it. Nor, for that reason, is there any reference to the address made by Chief Buthelezi, Chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, to the Special Political and Decolonization Committee on 10 November. The Chairman, however, has provided us with an update of crucial developments since that time.

The consensus decision, taken by the General Assembly on 8 October, lifting all economic sanctions is accounted for in paragraph 42, and in paragraph 43 there is a mention of the award of the Nobel Prize jointly to Mr. Mandela and Mr. De Klerk.

This is followed by subsection D of the chapter, entitled "Violence and Intimidation", and subsection E, entitled "National Peace Accord".

Chapter III, entitled "Socio-economic situation in South Africa", contains an analysis of the South African economy as well as the socio-economic issues facing the country as it embarks on a much-needed national reconstruction effort aimed at ameliorating a situation of huge disparities in the socio-economic development of different groups of people in South Africa, caused by decades of institutionalized apartheid. The chapter also covers current efforts aimed at addressing the critical needs of the various socio-economic sectors.

Chapter IV, entitled "External relations of South Africa", describes recent developments with regard to the lifting of sanctions and steps taken by various countries and intergovernmental organizations towards the normalization of diplomatic, trade, financial and other relations with South Africa. Subsection C of this chapter, entitled "Military Matters", covers defence expenditure, the import and export of arms and military equipment, other military issues and South Africa's nuclear arsenal and its dismantlement.

Chapter V, "International response to developments in South Africa", has a subsection A containing a comprehensive account of United Nations action during the period under review. This includes actions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and United Nations agencies in providing humanitarian assistance to disadvantaged sectors in South Africa. Subsection B gives an account of actions taken by intergovernmental organizations with regard to assisting the democratic process in South Africa. It highlights initiatives taken by the Organization of African Unity, the European

Community, the Commonwealth and individual Governments, as well as non-governmental organizations.

Chapter VI, "Review of the work of the Special Committee", describes in detail activities of the Special Committee during the period under review, including the Special Committee's assessment of and response to political developments in South Africa. This section reports on the mission of the Chairman of the Special Committee to South Africa from 1 to 11 March 1993 and on the Symposium on Political Tolerance held in Cape Town from 30 July to 1 August 1993. It also includes a brief description of consultations with anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organizations which were held at Geneva on 30 November and 1 December last year and a Joint North American/European NGO Consultation held at Geneva on 30 and 31 August 1993.

Chapter VII contains the Special Committee's conclusions and recommendations, the essence of which is to reiterate support for the peaceful negotiation process towards the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. It also appeals to the international community to assist in promoting a stable economic environment in South Africa by providing material, financial and other assistance to South Africans, and recommends that a coordinated programme of socio-economic assistance from the United Nations and its agencies be initiated without delay. The Special Committee would continue to follow closely developments in South Africa; maintain close contacts with academic institutions and the labour, business and civic communities, including community-based and other non-governmental organizations; consult with parties in the political process, with legitimate non-racial structures and with a democratically elected non-racial Government with a view to facilitating the resumption of the participation of South Africa in the work of the General Assembly; and submit as soon as possible, following the establishment of a democratic Government, a final report to the General Assembly.

We have tried to make this year's report comprehensive so as to allow for the coverage of major political developments which mark a turning-point in the long history of the campaign against the system of apartheid. On behalf of the Special Committee and its drafting group, as well as on my own behalf, I should like to extend to the Secretariat our warm appreciation and heartfelt gratitude for the valuable cooperation it provided in the preparation of this year's report. Over the years, the continued harmonious collaboration between the Secretariat and the Special Committee has contributed to the smooth and effective implementation of the Special Committee's tasks. I should also like to thank the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid for his useful guidance and contributions made during the preparation of the report.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa.

Mr. NYAKYI (Tanzania), Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa: It gives me great pleasure to speak on behalf of the Intergovernmental Group in this debate, which may well be the most important in the entire history of the involvement of the United Nations in the question of South Africa.

We are witnessing the closing of one chapter of the struggle against apartheid and the opening of a new chapter of hope, peace, democracy and respect for human dignity in South Africa. Our debate today is indeed an historic event. We are convening just a few days after the inaugural meeting of the Transitional Executive Council in South Africa, which is charged with the task of ensuring that the first democratic and non-racial elections in the history of that country will be conducted in a free and fair manner. Landmark agreements have been reached between the participants in the multi-party negotiating process in South Africa, the most important being the fixing of 27 April 1994 as the date for the first democratic elections in South Africa, the establishment and commencement of the work of the Transitional Executive Council, the establishment of the Independent Broadcasting Authority and the Independent Media Commission, the Interim Constitution, and other measures to ensure the transformation of South Africa into a free, democratic and non-racial society.

The Intergovernmental Group considers that these achievements have brought about a profound and irreversible change in South Africa, as called for in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted by consensus during the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly. These developments are also the backdrop for the adoption on 8 October this year by the Assembly, of resolution 48/1 by which it, *inter alia*, decided to lift the oil embargo when the Transitional Executive Council became operational.

With these developments in mind, the Intergovernmental Group has decided that the time has come to recommend to the General Assembly that its mandate be terminated. We in the Intergovernmental Group have come to the end of a journey that started in this body in 1986 when Member States decided to establish our Group specifically to monitor the implementation of

the oil embargo against South Africa. The main purpose has been to assist Governments in implementing their voluntary oil embargoes or comparable policies against South Africa.

The struggle of the people of South Africa for the elimination of apartheid entered a crucial stage in the mid-1980s. As repression and oppression intensified, there were increasing calls for the international community, and particularly this Organization, to take effective measures to assist the people of South Africa in their just struggle to liberate their country from apartheid and racism. The oil embargo was one of the means of pressure to force the South African authorities to abandon their apartheid policies.

The Intergovernmental Group was established by General Assembly resolution 41/35 F of 10 November 1986. Its membership is drawn from all geographical groups in the United Nations. I am proud to state that throughout the years we have worked on the basis of consensus. We have received cooperation from many Member States. We have always emphasized that our task has not been to blame or to point an accusing finger at any Government, but to assist Governments to implement their own policies, because the oil embargo was a voluntary measure universally endorsed by all States.

However, there is no denying that the embargo has not been the success that the United Nations had hoped it would be. From the start, the Intergovernmental Group was denied the cooperation of a number of important oil-trading nations. The oil embargo was also denied the backing of the Security Council. It was obvious from very early on, therefore, that, despite the strenuous efforts exerted by the Intergovernmental Group, the embargo would not be able to deny the regime the oil supplies, the technology and the experts it needed for its oil industry.

But, as the Group has emphasized time and again, this does not mean that the embargo has had no effect on the regime. Indeed, the regime's own efforts to beat it are a clear admission of its effect on the economy. But we also have ample evidence to show that the regime secured its supplies at a heavy price. Reliable estimates suggest that the embargo added $2 billion to the oil-import bill. Illegal schemes to which the regime resorted in order to hide the identity of the sources of its oil supplies and of the ships in which they were transported added to the cost of the oil bill, as did the cost of its stockpiles and facilities and of its huge investments in the very expensive oil-from-coal industry.

External pressures, including the oil embargo, combined to compel the South African Government to sue for peace. Only when it became clear that the international community was determined to widen, tighten and intensify the pressures it had imposed on the regime until it abandoned its apartheid policies did it agree to negotiate an end to apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa. That goal is close to being achieved, due to the tremendous sacrifices of the people of South Africa and the international community's support for their heroic struggle.

Last year, when I addressed the Assembly on behalf of the Intergovernmental Group, I urged Member States to walk the extra mile with us to help achieve the necessary ingredients for democratic change. I reiterated the Group's position that we would not prolong our work beyond the point necessary to accomplish our task, and that we would consider our mandate fulfilled after the people of South Africa, through the liberation movements as their genuine representatives, and other democratic forces, had determined that the changes in South Africa were profound and irreversible. We have now reached that position. The adoption on 8 October 1993 of General Assembly resolution 48/1 was an acknowledgement by the international community that a fundamental transformation is under way in South Africa and that, while obstacles on the road to the final destination remain, the Government's commitment to fundamental change can now be taken seriously.

It is therefore with a profound sense of satisfaction and achievement that we are proposing the termination of our work. We believe that the work we have done for the last seven years will help the United Nations in its future efforts to ensure the effective monitoring of sanctions and other restrictive measures.

The lifting of sanctions means that they have achieved their purpose. But while obstacles that could still derail the peace process continue to exist, the United Nations must remain engaged in the struggle for the democratic transformation of South Africa. Violence remains the most serious threat to the peace process. External monitoring, though helpful, has not sufficed to deter its perpetrators. The increased presence of external monitors, especially the United Nations, is absolutely necessary to confront the present challenge, and also in anticipation of increased violence as preparations for the first democratic elections, in April next year, get under way.

I was honoured to represent the Intergovernmental Group at the International Solidarity Conference organized by the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), which was held in Johannesburg in February this year. The Conference was an important demonstration of support not only for the ANC, but for all democratic forces that are

striving to pave the way for democratic transformation in South Africa. It also reflected the momentum generated by the democratic forces for the establishment of a free and democratic society in South Africa. The solidarity of the international community, along with the efforts of the people of South Africa in their struggle for the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic and non-racial society in South Africa, were clearly manifested at that Conference. The fact that a meeting in unliberated South Africa was able to attract over 650 participants from outside South Africa, over 250 of whom represented over 100 organizations, was of great significance. The meeting was a dramatic demonstration of the strength of South Africa's anti-apartheid and democratic forces, the extent of their external support, and the common determination of both to defeat apartheid. We are confident that this solidarity will be maintained and strengthened in the coming years.

Before concluding my statement, I should like to thank the members of the Intergovernmental Group for their support and cooperation. It was a pleasure for me to work with them. I also wish to put on record my deep appreciation of the contribution of the liberation movements of South Africa: the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. Many Member States extended excellent cooperation to the Group by answering its queries and submitting documentation, which facilitated the task of the Group. I wish to thank them also. I should also like to express the Group's appreciation for the services of the Secretariat, without which it might not have been able to achieve its objective. Many non-governmental organizations and individuals in the human rights, legal and academic fields assisted the Group in its work, and I should like to thank them all in this final statement.

Finally, I want to extend our profound gratitude to the Shipping Research Bureau of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, for its selfless and tireless efforts to help the Intergovernmental Group achieve its goals. That non-governmental organization, more than any other organization, contributed to the success of the Intergovernmental Group. Its dedication to the cause has been total; it spared no effort in its commitment to helping the Group accomplish its mandate. Over the years it monitored the oil embargo, it accumulated expertise that I am sure will serve our Organization well in similar circumstances in the future.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Moreno Fernandez of Cuba, Rapporteur of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply on Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa.

Mr. MORENO FERNANDEZ (Cuba), Rapporteur of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa *(interpretation from Spanish)*: After the very thorough and complete statement just made by Ambassador Nyaki, Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group, I can be very brief.

It is an honour for me, on behalf of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, to introduce to the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly the Group's seventh and last report (A/48/93).

The report contains four chapters and four annexes.

The introduction - chapter I - recalls how the Intergovernmental Group was established and describes its mandate and its working procedures; it indicates which countries have been members of the Group since its establishment.

Chapter II refers to the activities of the Intergovernmental Group, which include the investigation of cases of alleged violations of the oil embargo against South Africa and a survey of port calls in South Africa by vessels capable of transporting oil or petroleum products. Annexes I and II list the cases of alleged violations, and annexes III and IV relate to the survey of port calls.

Chapter III of the report examines the status of the oil embargo against South Africa and also the process of negotiations under way in that country to establish a united, democratic and non-racist society.

Chapter IV of the report contains the conclusions and recommendations. In that chapter, the Intergovernmental Group endorses the decision of the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to lift the oil embargo

> "after the establishment and commencement of the work of the Transitional Executive Council" *(A/48/43, para. 32)*.

It also welcomed the adoption of General Assembly resolution 48/1, in which it was decided that the embargo should be lifted as of the date when the Transitional Executive Council became operational. Therefore, since that Council did begin its work on 7 December, the Intergovernmental Group recommends that the mandate under which it has been working since 1985 be terminated upon the adoption by the General Assembly of the report that I now have the honour of introducing.

The Intergovernmental Group, during its years of work, constantly requested the cooperation of Member States to enable it to fulfil the tasks assigned to it. On 31 August last the Group requested from certain States information on specific cases of alleged violations of the oil embargo and on port calls; that information appears in annexes II and IV to the report. Since the Group's mandate will be terminated once the report that I am introducing is adopted, the report recommends that the Secretary-General be called upon to publish the responses that Member States may wish to provide to the requests for information sent by the Intergovernmental Group. This publication might take the form of an addendum to the present report.

Lastly, and with the satisfaction of having contributed to the process of the elimination of apartheid in South Africa, I ask the General Assembly to take note of the report that I have introduced today and to endorse the recommendations it contains.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The PRESIDENT: I call next on the Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, Mr. Martin Huslid of Norway, who will introduce draft resolution A/48/L.37 in the course of his statement.

Mr. HUSLID (Norway), Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa: In my capacity as Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA), I am pleased to make an introductory statement in connection with the draft resolution contained in document A/48/L.37. I noted with gratitude the kind words spoken about the Programme and about me personally by Ambassador Gambari, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, in his impressive speech earlier this morning.

Turning now to the draft resolution, I have been informed that since it was printed some additional countries have indicated that they wish to sponsor it. So far, these countries are: Myanmar, Portugal and Benin. This brings the number of sponsors to 29. We are pleased that this wide range of sponsoring countries from all regional groups reflects broad support by the international community for the important work of this Programme.

I am happy to say that since its establishment in 1967, and throughout the 26 years of its existence, UNETPSA has always been a truly humanitarian programme, serving as a practical expression of the long-standing commitment of the United Nations to ensuring access to adequate education and training programmes for disadvantaged students from the Southern Africa region. During that time, UNETPSA has received more than 39,000 applications for scholarships, and more than 8,500 students have completed their studies in a broad variety of fields in more than 30 countries. The wide spectrum of training programmes offered has varied from vocational post-secondary training to post-graduate studies. The programmes have included short-term specialized training and internships as well as professional training, often in fields not readily available inside South Africa. In the 1992 to 1993 academic year, 2,553 students pursued their studies and training under the sponsorship of UNETPSA in priority fields of study that include agriculture, accounting, economics, business management, public administration, communication and information technology, education policy and planning, engineering, sciences, international relations and diplomacy, law, public health and general medicine, urban planning and development. Ninety-six per cent of the students sponsored by the Programme are from South Africa and 4 per cent are from Namibia.

During the period under review 94 Namibian students have continued their education and training under the aegis of the Programme. Since 31 December 1992, on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee, the Programme has stopped granting new awards to Namibian students. However, in consultation with the Namibian authorities, UNETPSA will continue to sponsor those students who came on board before that cutoff date until the completion of the courses for which awards had been granted. I am happy to note that hundreds of Namibian and South African students who received training in key disciplines have returned home and are putting their skills, training and experience to use, thereby contributing significantly to the development of their countries.

The delivery of the Programme has been very satisfactory. However, I have to say that the contributions and pledges that UNETPSA received from 1 September 1992 to 31 August 1993 have been less so. All in all, they totalled slightly more than $4 million. This represents a regrettable drop in resources of about 25 per cent, a big decrease compared with the $5.4 million received last year. However, I am pleased to report that, despite this significant decline in income, the total number of students sponsored rose to 2,553 from 2,108 last year, mostly thanks to a cost-effective allocation of resources for education and training projects within South Africa and other low-cost countries and for distance education programmes in South Africa.

Moreover, few awards for short-term specialized training and graduate studies in priority fields were made available for study in North America, Europe and Japan. These awards are made in cooperation with other educational programmes and scholarships agencies which share costs with UNETPSA and assist in the placement of graduates and trainees in suitable jobs in South Africa.

The increase in the total number of students sponsored by UNETPSA also resulted from a larger number of co-sponsoring arrangements with other educational programmes and scholarship agencies, non-governmental organizations and educational institutions, both inside South Africa and abroad.

In this connection, it gives me great pleasure to say that the Programme has developed new co-sponsorship projects inside South Africa with a number of universities and technikons, involving career-oriented training programmes that lead most of the time to professional certification and direct employment. Short-term leadership and specialized skills training programmes, teachers' upgrading, internships and distance education programmes have also been carried out during the period under review.

In the course of the past year 172 students sponsored by the Programme at traditionally black and other educational institutions in South Africa completed their studies and offered their newly acquired expertise in areas where shortages among blacks are especially pronounced.

I am pleased to report that UNETPSA will continue to give priority to providing educational and training opportunities inside South Africa and that $2.4 million has been allocated in the work plan for 1993-1994 for this purpose.

The primary goal of UNETPSA now is to contribute to human- resources development for a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa. UNETPSA activities in South Africa are aimed accordingly at empowering disadvantaged South Africans to prepare themselves, through adequate and intensive education and training projects, for new roles and responsibilities in the new South Africa. Priority funding inside South Africa is directed at building up the institutional capacity of universities and non-governmental organizations, especially through the upgrading of junior staff and graduate students at the historically black and other universities and through the provision of black leadership skills training that will help in facilitating the transition to a democratic society.

One of the most immediate and appropriate concerns of the Programme during the transition is to train black lawyers and judges for the effective administration of justice in a post-apartheid South Africa, as it highlights its human rights component.

Another important goal of UNETPSA, given the urgency and the dimensions of the educational crisis in that country, is to train managers of educational change at all levels, including teachers, educators, planners, curriculum specialists and administrators for a major restructuring of the education system. During the past year a number of new awards have been instituted for the upgrading of skills of education professionals in the field of administration and governance.

Last, but not least, it should be noted that training and placement of mid- and high-level cadres in the key sectors of science and technology remain one of the main targets of UNETPSA.

Recent developments in South Africa hold promise that the formal transition to a non-racial, democratic society will be completed in the course of the next few months. However, the magnitude and urgency of the training and educational needs facing the country during the transition and beyond are enormous, as South Africa strives to overcome the legacy of decades of apartheid. The international community can make an effective contribution towards addressing those needs.

In this respect, UNETPSA looks forward to the continued cooperation and support of Governments and of intergovernmental and non-governmental agencies, with which it has worked closely for so many years. Allow me to express, on behalf of the Advisory Committee, my appreciation to those Member States, organizations and institutions which have contributed to the success of the Programme. I would like to note that, in addition to those donor countries which are mentioned in the report, Indonesia, Ireland and Malaysia have, since the printing was done, made their contributions.

As South Africa moves towards a new and democratic future, I would like to underscore the importance of the continued provision of assistance by the international community. I therefore once again ask for the support of Member States to enable UNETPSA to help meet the demand for education and training opportunities for disadvantaged South Africans in South Africa and abroad.

Before closing, I should like also to take a moment to express, on behalf of the Advisory Committee, our appreciation of the valuable support and assistance given to the Programme by the Secretary-General. Our thanks also go to Mr. Johan Nordenfelt, head of the Centre against Apartheid, and his staff, as well as to the members of the Fellowship Section. Finally, a particular expression of

appreciation should be made to the manager of the Programme, Mr. Abdennour Abrous.

The countdown towards a non-racial constitutional democracy in South Africa is well under way. "Let a new age be born", Mr. Mandela proclaimed at the end of his moving address when, together with President De Klerk, he received this year's Nobel Peace Prize at a historic event in Oslo three days ago. However, Nelson Mandela no doubt would be the first to admit that many challenges must be faced before the vision of a new South Africa can become a reality. Most prominent among these challenges is probably the need to provide sustained opportunities to enable the disadvantaged young South Africans to gain equal access to the education and skills necessary for them to better their lives and, not least, to take a full part in the development of their new democratic and non-racial society. The continued commitment of the international community is vital to help meet this challenge. It is in this spirit that I appeal to the General Assembly to vote unanimously for this draft resolution.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, Mr. Peter Osvald of Sweden, who will introduce draft resolution A/48/L.36 in the course of his statement.

Mr. OSVALD (Sweden), Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa: As Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, I am privileged to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.36 on behalf of the sponsors, to whom I express appreciation for their valued and continued support. Let me also state that Benin and China should be added to the list of sponsors of the draft resolution.

The Trust Fund has for almost three decades provided humanitarian, legal and relief assistance to persons persecuted for their opposition to apartheid and to those who were forced into exile and to take refuge in neighbouring countries and abroad. This assistance has been made possible by the consistent support and generous contribution of Member States, which have contributed over $50 million since the Fund was established in 1965. Document A/48/523 contains an up-to-date list of contributors to the Fund. In addition, contributions have also been received this year from Malaysia, Brazil, Indonesia and Turkey.

From its inception and until 1990, the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa worked through non-governmental organizations outside South Africa in order to carry out its humanitarian mandate. However, in the light of changing circumstances and positive developments in South Africa, the General Assembly mandated the Trust Fund in December 1991 to support the work of broad-based humanitarian organizations inside South Africa in the legal and humanitarian fields. The organizations that have received support from the Fund have, over the years, worked hard to assist those persecuted under discriminatory legislation in South Africa and their families. On behalf of the Trust Fund, I wish to thank these organizations for their valuable work.

In adopting the draft resolution before it, the General Assembly would endorse the report of the Secretary-General on the Trust Fund and express support for continued humanitarian, legal and educational assistance by the international community. The Assembly would furthermore acknowledge that the Trust Fund has an important role to play during the final stage of the elimination of apartheid. This would be done through continued assistance in the legal field aimed at ensuring effective implementation of legislation repealing major apartheid laws, redressing the continuing adverse effects of those laws and encouraging increased public confidence in the rule of law, while also recognizing that the time is growing nearer when South African authorities, within new, non-racial and democratic structures, will take responsibility for matters which have been within the mandate of the Trust Fund.

Against this background, I should like on behalf of the Committee of Trustees and the sponsors, to express the hope that draft resolution A/48/L.36 will be adopted without a vote.

Ms. STEWART (Canada): In December 1991, 19 parties gathered in Johannesburg for the historic opening session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). They met to negotiate a new constitutional order for South Africa, one that would end the system of apartheid that had been imposed over four decades ago. Now, two years later, after many delays, we welcome the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council on 7 December. For the first time, representatives of the majority of South Africans will have a voice in shaping the decisions which affect their lives. I cannot fail to acknowledge the indispensable role of Nelson Mandela and President F. W. de Klerk, the recipients of this year's Nobel Peace Prize, in the achievement of this historic and joyous moment.

When I was a teenager, Alan Paton's moving and eloquent novel, *Cry, the Beloved Country*, was my first introduction, as it was for many Canadians, to the pain and terrible inequities of the apartheid system. For millions of South Africans, the creation of the Transitional Executive

Council and the upcoming elections mark the end of a long and difficult struggle to change a fundamentally unjust system of government. For millions of people outside South Africa who supported them in that struggle, apartheid became a symbol of institutionalized injustice, one in which the conditions of life were dictated by one's race. We share the joy of South Africans as they shed the legacy of apartheid.

The international community has played an important role, including in its sanctions policy, in helping to bring South Africa to this stage in its transition to multiracial democratic Government. When, at the beginning of October, transitional arrangements were passed into law, the General Assembly reacted quickly and happily with a consensus vote ending the United Nations economic and financial sanctions against South Africa. Last Tuesday, the oil embargo ended as the Transitional Executive Council came into operation. We have indeed, as Mr. Mandela said to the Special Committee against Apartheid in September, "together walked a very long road".

On 27 April 1994, South Africans will hold the first election in which all citizens of that country can participate, regardless of their colour. We must not underestimate the difficulties that lie ahead in the lead-up to that election. South Africa is peopled by a majority that is not familiar with a democratic tradition, its rights and its responsibilities. South Africa today is a country which unfortunately is too familiar with violence and repression. Millions of South Africans know only a system which forbade free political expression and dealt harshly with those who challenged it. Violence continues to threaten the prospects for peaceful change, in particular from those groups in South Africa which refuse to acknowledge the need for fundamental change.

(*spoke in French*)

We in the international community therefore cannot rest on our laurels. South Africans have been through too much and come too far for the international community to lose interest or for the United Nations to stumble at this point.

My Government joins South Africans in their dismay that the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) has yet to receive the additional 40 violence monitors two full months after the Security Council approved the Secretary-General's request for them. It is unacceptable that such a necessary step in increasing UNOMSA's effectiveness is taking so long to move from intention to action.

The United Nations can and must make every reasonable effort to support the Independent Electoral Commission in its crucial task of ensuring free and fair elections. This means providing electoral expertise throughout the electoral process, in addition to continuing the important function of showing an international presence at political rallies. This also means fielding a force of polling station monitors sufficient to respond to any problems that may arise during the voting process and coordinating other international observers.

In this context, we encourage an early response to the resolution passed at the first meeting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) on 7 December, calling on the United Nations and other international organizations to provide election observers, and requesting the United Nations to coordinate all international observers as defined in the Independent Electoral Commission Act. The fact that this resolution was considered and passed at the TEC's first sitting is evidence of the priority placed on the role of the international community in helping to ensure the successful conduct of the elections.

(*spoke in English*)

We trust also that all United Nations Members will respond to the task of expanding UNOMSA to incorporate its electoral role in a timely manner, not tarnishing the credibility of the Organization with time-consuming battles about principles which in reality amount to squabbles over turf and over relatively small amounts of funding.

The upcoming multi-racial election in South Africa will be an historic moment not only for all citizens of that country but for the entire international community and its struggle against the terrible wrongs of racial discrimination and oppression everywhere. Canadians are proud to have assisted South Africans in a number of ways to prepare for this event. We provided support to help South Africans develop a democratic system suited to their unique situation, including assistance in the vital area of developing a judicable bill of rights. We have also been helping to design policies for post-apartheid South Africa in priority areas such as education and public administration. This is in addition to the assistance we have provided and continue to provide both bilaterally and through multilateral organizations to train black South Africans to play a significant role in the new South Africa.

On behalf of the Government of Canada and my colleague, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, I am pleased to announce today that a project has just been approved through the Canadian International Development Agency to support directly the holding of free and fair democratic elections. The funds, Can$ 2.5 million, will be used in

three ways. First, to assist with voter education programmes, in particular those targeted at rural women. Secondly, to provide technical assistance to the Independent Electoral Commission or other transitional organizations. Thirdly, to provide independent election monitors and observers. Because of the importance of this election, Canada will field its own high-level delegation of observers, headed by myself, as well as participate in United Nations and Commonwealth missions.

(*spoke in French*)

While the international community looks forward to the elections this April it would be irresponsible to hesitate until the new government is in place to see how this Organization can help address the multitude of problems left by 45 years of apartheid.

In this regard, we are heartened by the cooperation between the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Republic of South Africa. We have encouraged the return of South Africa to functionally oriented international bodies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), and we look forward to working with the representatives of a multi-racial South African Government here at the United Nations.

Canada urges the Transitional Executive Council's Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs to work together urgently to present requests to the United Nations and other organizations to engage in South Africa. Equally prompt responses from the United Nations development agencies are desirable. We will work with other delegations and the Secretariat to rechannel resources that have been deployed against apartheid into new directions designed to help South Africa's social and economic development.

(*spoke in English*)

The challenge now for the international community is to help South Africans overcome the legacy of apartheid and build a society which preserves those basic human rights and values which apartheid denied. Canada stands ready to help in that task.

In conclusion, I would like to quote from the speeches made by this year's Nobel Peace Prize laureates last week. Mr. De Klerk reminded us that "We owe it to the children of the world to continue to work for peace". And Mr. Nelson Mandela invited us to say again and commit ourselves again with open hearts to the words of another great twentieth-century man, Martin Luther King, Jr.: "Let a new age be born".

Mr. AFONSO (Mozambique): My delegation is pleased to participate in the discussion of the very important agenda item entitled "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa", which is before the General Assembly today. It is particularly gratifying to note that today, for the first time since the question of apartheid was inscribed on the agenda of the General Assembly, we are discussing the end of apartheid.

This year's debate in the General Assembly is, I believe, perhaps one of the most exciting moments in the history of the people of South Africa in their quest for the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, and for the peoples of the entire region in their struggle for peace and stability. Indeed, many events have taken place in South Africa since last year's debate.

On 24 September of this year, the President of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr. Nelson Mandela, in his address to the Special Committee against Apartheid, indicated that the current positive developments towards democracy in South Africa since the beginning of the negotiation process called for the lifting of all economic and diplomatic sanctions, in order to give more impetus to the process. The General Assembly responded to this appeal by lifting all sanctions against South Africa through its resolution 48/1 of 8 October 1993, with immediate effect, with the exception of the oil embargo which was lifted last week on the date of the entry into operation of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

My delegation has followed with great interest the evolution of the peace process in South Africa. We welcomed the resumption of the multi-party negotiations in April of this year after a long period of uncertainty. More importantly, the increase in the number of participants since the resumption of these negotiations demonstrates, in our view, the determination of the political forces in South Africa to work together in the search for a common solution to the problems at hand.

In the history of the settlement of conflicts in which there are no losers or winners, as in the case of South Africa, negotiations have proved to be the best means to achieve peace. In a period that is brief when compared to the historic duration of the conflict which has brought so much suffering to the entire southern African region, negotiations have succeeded in finding answers to fundamental questions that could not be solved by arms.

The multi-party negotiations have resulted in agreements on a number of issues whose resolution seemed unlikely, or even impossible, a few months ago. I wish to highlight, in this regard, the adoption by consensus of a set

of constitutional principles which will guide the activities of the first democratic government in South Africa. Moreover, an agreement was reached on the holding of the first non-racial democratic elections on 27 April of next year.

In this regard, my delegation urges all political forces in that country to respect the will of the South African people, so that the long-awaited dream can become a reality. We hope the participation of the majority of political parties in this democratic exercise will encourage those who have not yet been willing to start on the road to peace. This is a unique opportunity in the annals of the history of this country, which no one genuinely committed to the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa can afford to miss.

On behalf of my delegation, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to welcome the entry into force of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), which was also agreed upon during these negotiations. The correct functioning of the TEC will be crucial for the success of the overall peace process in South Africa and for the holding of elections in April next year. As indicated in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/48/22), the TEC has been entrusted with many and very important responsibilities.

My delegation is confident that this body will follow the spirit which guided the multi-party negotiations and will succeed in making the appropriate recommendations as soon as possible on the establishment of the Independent Electoral Commission, which will oversee the first non-racial democratic elections in South Africa, and of the Independent Broadcasting Authority, which will issue broadcasting licences and monitor radio and television broadcasts prior to the elections. In addition, the TEC has a direct responsibility in the appointment of the Independent Media Commission which will ensure the impartiality of the media *vis-à-vis* all political forces. For these reasons, the Transitional Executive Council must be supported by all political forces in order to discharge its duties.

We therefore call upon all political forces in South Africa to continue to join efforts in order to ensure the irreversibility of the process.

In his address before the Assembly on 27 September 1993 President Chissano highlighted the importance of the TEC as a decisive step in the preparation of the first multi-racial elections in South Africa. He further emphasized:

> "The end of the apartheid system and the formation of a democratically elected Government will greatly contribute to peace and stability in the region, thus enhancing the prospects for even more prosperous economic cooperation within the context of the Southern African Development Community (SADC)." *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting, p. 7)*

To this end, the lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa should serve as a catalyst to improve economic performance and create the necessary conditions for stability and social progress, thus contributing to the well-being of the South African people and those of the region as a whole.

As is well known, the existence of economic and social imbalances resulting from a long period of inequalities has greatly contributed to the current state of tension in South Africa. The negative effects of this tension were not limited to South Africa alone. They have had negative consequences across the borders as well. As we have emphasized time and again, apartheid has never been a solely internal matter confined to South Africa, neither in its political, economic and moral dimensions, nor in its destructive consequences. For these reasons, democratization of the country must go hand in hand with similar efforts to bring economic and social benefits to the overall population - not only the South African people, but also the whole southern African region.

The road to peace and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa continues to face formidable obstacles. According to the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid,

> "Violence, including political and economic crime, continued at unprecedented levels, taking a high toll in human lives and destruction of property, and spreading fear and anguish throughout the country" (A/48/22, para. 45).

It is therefore crucial that violence be stopped. In this connection, my delegation calls upon all parties in South Africa to exercise maximum restraint in taking further actions that could exacerbate the already difficult situation. The recurrence of violence represents a great danger to the peace process. The increase of violence, especially following each major political breakthrough, clearly demonstrates that some forces inside the country are still opposed to changes.

Recent reports indicating that sophisticated assault weapons have been distributed by the South African

Defence Forces to local militias are even more disturbing in view of the fact that these weapons might ultimately fall into the hands of forces opposed to the country's process of democratization. It is my delegation's earnest hope that these actions will be terminated forthwith and that the South African Government will follow this issue with the seriousness it deserves.

My delegation is also disturbed at the increase of paramilitary formations, some of which are clearly opposed to the ongoing political change. Similarly, the announced unification of a large portion of these forces last September constitutes a matter of great concern. We wish to commend the ongoing negotiations aimed at addressing the fears and concerns of a number of political forces in South Africa. We especially congratulate and encourage the African National Congress of South Africa for taking these steps.

My delegation appeals to those forces which continue to reject peace to seize this opportunity to reconcile themselves with the whole South African family, thus setting aside the dark legacy of the policies of racial discrimination. We believe that fighting against history, as illustrated by the current attempts aimed at the establishment of racial political entities within the boundaries of South Africa, is not only unwise and counterproductive but, above all, a serious threat to international peace and security.

My delegation believes that peace, stability and democracy in southern Africa constitute a cherished and noble goal for all the peoples of the region. It is through these goals that we can succeed in our common endeavours for development and cooperation. Our region possesses enormous economic potential, yet to be explored. The peoples of southern Africa must be given a chance to devote their energies to the creation of conditions conducive to the well-being of present and future generations. It is therefore high time for the international community to ensure that the enemies of peace, not only in South Africa but also in Mozambique, Angola and elsewhere, be firmly denounced and exposed.

For its part, my Government will continue to contribute to efforts towards democracy and will fully abide by its commitments under the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique, so as to achieve lasting peace and stability in our country and in the region.

Mr. VAJPAYEE (India): I am privileged to participate in the debate at this session of the General Assembly on the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Speaking in the general debate of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, in 1978, when I had the privilege to lead the Indian delegation to the General Assembly as Foreign Minister of India, I stated:

> "The international community cannot evade its responsibility for taking effective measures to liquidate the dehumanizing practice of apartheid." (*A/33/PV.29, para. 30*)

The honour for me is therefore even greater, since this year's debate marks the emergence of a new South Africa in which apartheid will be regarded as a mere aberration of history. Undoubtedly, the international community's support of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa has made invaluable contributions towards this.

1993 marks a historic watershed in the long and turbulent political journey of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. This epic struggle has culminated this year in several far-reaching agreements, the most important of which is to hold the first non-racial elections in South Africa on 27 April 1994. Other developments, such as establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, agreements on the establishment of Independent Broadcasting, Media and Electoral Commissions, the adoption of a constitution for the transitional period, and the Electoral Bill will, I am confident, serve the highly important purpose of ensuring free and fair elections in South Africa. This will truly commence the process of establishing a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We must not forget that the process in South Africa has been made possible by the sacrifices of its brave people of all nationalities. Thousands were incarcerated in prisons for demanding their inherent political rights. Many lost their lives. We pay a tribute to Mr. Nelson Mandela, who spent a major part of his life in South African prisons and has become the symbol of the aspirations of the South African people. We also pay a tribute to all those from different cross-sections of South African society - Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Mr. Makwetu, President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania; and various anti-apartheid movements, whose selfless sacrifices have turned the South African dream into reality.

The credit for this new vision of hope for South Africa also goes to President De Klerk. His great personal and political courage in accepting the realities of the South African situation and the valid aspirations of the South African people contributed significantly to peaceful political change in South Africa. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1993 jointly to Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress of South Africa, and President De Klerk therefore testifies to their

work towards the peaceful termination of the apartheid regime and the laying of the foundations for a new democratic South Africa. As the Nobel Committee stated when announcing the award:

> "It is a pledge of support for the forces of good, in the hope that the advance towards equality and democracy will reach its goal in the very near future."

For India, it is a particularly proud moment. As the Assembly will recall, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, then leader of the Indian delegation, first brought the issue of apartheid in South Africa to the General Assembly in 1946, even before India had achieved its own independence. In that sense, we consider the elimination of apartheid in South Africa a vindication of our own beliefs in universal human values and their indivisibility.

In 1958 the then Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, speaking on apartheid in the Indian Parliament, said,

> "It is a policy with which obviously no person and no country that believes in the United Nations Charter can ever compromise, because it uproots almost everything the modern world stands for and considers worthwhile, whether it is the United Nations Charter or whether it is our ideas of democracy or of human dignity."

The elimination of apartheid in South Africa is also, therefore, a victory for the United Nations and its ideals as enshrined in the Charter.

India and South Africa share strong bonds of history and culture. The two countries have suffered similarly ignominious experiences of colonialism and have gone through the agonies of being denied the just rights of self-government. The seeds of the philosophy of satyagraha, a movement based on the force of truth and non-violence, were sown on the soil of South Africa through the experiments of Mahatma Gandhi in Durban and Natal. The knowledge and experience gained in South Africa sustained the strength of the Indian independence movement under Gandhi. These commonly cherished ideals of truth, non-violence and respect for basic dignity and freedom for individuals constitute the anchor of the Indian Constitution and have now become the very foundation on which Indian society is being built. As Prime Minister Narasimha Rao once said,

> "Human dignity and the well-being of the individual can be guaranteed only under conditions of the full enjoyment of fundamental rights and freedoms, irrespective of colour, class, creed or birth".

The positive contributions made by the Indian people to the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa are a manifestation of these ideals and our deeply held belief in the indivisibility of freedom and peace for the whole human race. Our support for the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, motivated by our ideal of *Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam* - the world is a family - has been unwavering and unstinting in every respect throughout these long years. I am convinced that these shared ideals will continue to guide future cooperation between India and South Africa in all fields.

The Secretary-General, in his message on the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners on 11 October this year, stated,

> "The spirit of reconciliation which is beginning to prevail and the unshakeable determination of the negotiators in South Africa to succeed in their task are a source of inspiration and hope for us all. We, in turn, should give the negotiators our full support for their praiseworthy efforts in order that we may soon see a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa finally return to the international community in newly found dignity and peace." *(A/AC.115/PV.670, p. 16)*

Developments in the last few months have certainly led the international community to conclude that the process of eliminating apartheid in South Africa has now become irreversible.

My own country has responded positively to the calls made by the liberation movements of South Africa and decisions of the United Nations and the Commonwealth by removing economic sanctions and undertaking a comprehensive programme of bilateral cooperation. My Government, in response to the call by Mr. Mandela, said,

> "As South Africa moves towards elections based on universal suffrage, India looks forward to a positive expansion in our mutual relations, which have great prospects for the future."

We are confident that the beginnings of such positive relations will assist the future government of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa in undertaking effective measures and programmes for economic reconstruction. This is essential to ensure that in the new political framework, lack of economic opportunities and development do not become a stumbling-block in the way of the people of South Africa's achievement of their just aspirations of an equitable and prosperous society.

In view of the multi-ethnic and multiracial composition of the South African people, the new

democratic structures in that country would also need to ensure that all its people not only have equal rights but also are able to find equal expression for these rights. This will enable them all to contribute to the growth and development of the country without any distinction on the basis of colour, race, ethnicity or religion.

While the announcement of election dates, the adoption of the electoral law and the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, *inter alia*, have made irreversible the process of transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country, several problems continue to afflict South African society. We believe some of the most important of these problems to be the continuing phenomenon of violence, the need to generate and establish an environment of political tolerance and the need to find effective and durable solutions to the socio-economic inequities in South Africa that continue to plague the country as the remaining legacies of apartheid structures.

While the world can justifiably rejoice in the success of the anti-apartheid struggle, the international community, we believe, cannot relax its watch over events in South Africa. The success of the emerging South Africa will depend on two fundamental factors: a democratic and non-racial political structure, of which elections in April next year will be the first manifestation, and equitable socio-economic development in post-apartheid South Africa so that political freedom and economic opportunities can together sustain an economically and politically vibrant society in South Africa. The international community and the United Nations will need to continue to support this process.

We are shocked that political violence in South Africa continues unabated. In the first half of this year this violence resulted in over 1,000 deaths, a large number of which were in the Natal region. It is axiomatic that such violence would have an adverse effect on the conduct of free and fair elections, thus underlining the need for addressing the issue effectively before the elections next year.

Similarly, the culture of political tolerance is an inalienable component of democratic practices and procedures. It is essential that a belief in the power of the ballot should become an integral part of the political thinking of all people in South Africa. The end of apartheid should not lead to tribal or ethnic alienation in whatever form.

The glaring economic and social inequalities existing in South Africa demand urgent solution. The report of the Human Rights Commission of South Africa indicates that socio-economic factors have also contributed to the increasing levels of violence. Urgent attention to this problem will also assist the future government of the united, democratic and non-racial South Africa in its important tasks of social and economic reconstruction. Draft resolution A/48/L.29 recommends an intensive programme of international support for the South African efforts in this area even before the new government is in place. We are in full support of such efforts and hope to be able to contribute to them, within our own limited national means.

The Special Committee against Apartheid has also made the important recommendation to expand the mandate and number of the international observers in South Africa so that they can contribute to the monitoring of the elections and, before that, to the process of voter education. That recommendation merits serious consideration by the United Nations and other international organizations such as the Commonwealth and the Organization of African Unity.

I would be failing in my duty if, in conclusion, I did not extend words of felicitation to the Special Committee against Apartheid. Ever since its establishment in 1962, the Committee has served as the United Nations focal point for encouraging and supporting the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. Through its various activities over the years, it has succeeded in mobilizing international opinion against the apartheid structures in South Africa and in generating strong international support for anti-apartheid movements with a view to achieving non-racial and democratic government in that country.

The mission of the Chairman of the Special Committee to South Africa from 1 to 11 March, which included some other members of the Committee, including India, opened a new chapter with the beginning of a dialogue with various political parties within South Africa, to make a first-hand assessment of the situation there.

In his letter to the Government of India in 1980 upon receiving the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding for 1979, Mr. Mandela wrote that

> "This knowledge of shared suffering, though formidable in dimension, at the same time keeps alive in us our oneness with mankind and our own global responsibilities that accrue therefrom. It also helps to strengthen our faith and belief in our future".

We in India share Mr. Mandela's faith and belief. We also look forward to the continuing growth and strengthening of the bilateral relations between our two countries, so that this commonly shared faith and belief

can be further nurtured. It is my earnest hope, indeed my conviction, that such bonds of friendship and good relations will be to the mutual advantage of our two countries and their peoples.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 24 September 1993, I call now on the Chairman of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mr. Thabo Mbeki.

Mr. MBEKI (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): We would like to thank members most sincerely for allowing us once more to address the General Assembly.

This is perhaps the last time that the Assembly will discuss South Africa under the agenda item entitled "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa". Before the next session of the General Assembly is convened, elections will take place in South Africa on the basis of an interim constitution which, for the first time, will incorporate in the South African political order the various provisions contained in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and will grant every adult South African the right to vote.

This week, as the General Assembly debates the issue of South Africa, the South African tricameral parliament will itself begin its own discussion of that interim constitution. Within a few days, that parliament will give legal force to that historic document, which has already been approved at a plenary meeting of the multi-party negotiating forum. As the Assembly knows, the Transitional Executive Council has already begun its work. The other bodies required to prepare the country for its transition to democracy will also become operational in the immediate future.

All these developments, to which the Assembly has responded in part by lifting the sanctions it imposed against apartheid South Africa, have correctly been recognized as important victories in the international struggle against apartheid.

Since 1989, the world anti-apartheid movement has been guided in its struggle by the benchmark decisions contained in the General Assembly Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. Not all the objectives spelt out in that Declaration have been achieved. One of the central objectives of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly must therefore be to complete the work in progress as defined in that Declaration. The work in progress is the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country, through the holding, on 27 April next year, of free and fair elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

Soon our country will experience an all-inclusive constitutional and democratic process for the first time. It will take the first step towards a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future. It will be a decisive step forward, but a first step nevertheless.

Because of our country's recent and current history, this advance in South Africa has seemed to assume a particular newness and an exceptional meaning within the context of the transformation of the world. Because of the place in African and world affairs that the South African experience occupies, it has seemed to be critically important that our transition to democracy should succeed, in the interest of democracy universally. It has also seemed that this transition not only should succeed but should be seen by both South Africans and the rest of the world to have been a success.

It has further seemed that this transition should contribute something real and meaningful to the struggle of the peoples of the world, against racism in particular. Furthermore, it has seemed self-evident that the victory over the system of apartheid, like the defeat of nazism almost 50 years ago, must signify a visible gain in the common effort to resist any tendency in the conduct of world affairs which, by permitting contempt for the solution of conflicts by peaceful means, leads to violent conflict, repression and war within and among nations.

To achieve the success that all these considerations demand requires of the United Nations that it remain engaged with the South African question until all the goals contained in the consensus Declaration on Apartheid of 1989 and subsequent decisions of this body have been realized.

In particular, all necessary measures must be taken to strengthen the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa and increase its capacity to help us combat the persisting scourge of political violence in our country. In the first instance, decisions that have already been taken in this regard need to be implemented without undue delay. We would, however, also like to take this opportunity to express once more our sincere appreciation for the enormous and valuable work that has been carried by the Observer Mission as well as by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Commonwealth and the European Union.

We also believe that it is of critical importance that this Organization should spare no effort in its

determination to ensure that the elections of 27 April are free and fair. We are greatly encouraged by the call already made by the President of the Security Council for the acceleration of the process of planning for United Nations participation in the election process. In that context, we wish to thank the Secretary-General for his response - the sending of a needs-assessment team to South Africa.

We know that this Organization fully understands the critical importance of these elections, not only for the people of South Africa but for the world. We are also convinced that it will continue to sustain its decades-long commitment to end the system of apartheid. Accordingly, we trust that the Assembly and the Security Council will be at one with us when we say that adequate and necessary participation by United Nations election observers should be measured in thousands rather than in hundreds.

As the Assembly knows, there are some organizations and administrations in our country that have elected to remain aloof from the multi-party process of negotiations. Some of these are threatening to unleash a civil war to block the democratic transition. We are certain that this Assembly will continue to speak with one voice in calling on these elements to rejoin the forces of democratic change. It is also of great importance that this Assembly make it unequivocally clear that the peoples of the world will do nothing to legitimize or give sustenance to machinations which are intended to frustrate the final liquidation of the system of apartheid.

We, for our part, will continue to do everything we can to persuade these groups to see reason, without losing sight of the fact that the overwhelming majority of our people are determined that the transition should go forward as agreed.

We would also like to commend and express our profound appreciation for the work that has already been done within the United Nations family to prepare this Organization to help the people of South Africa further to overcome the negative social and economic consequences of the policies of apartheid. In this regard, a special word of appreciation must go to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA), and to the Chairman of its Advisory Committee, Ambassador Huslid of Norway, for their invaluable assistance to thousands of needy students in southern Africa. The United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa continues to play a vital role in addressing the socio-economic ills of apartheid.

We also wish to pay a tribute to the United Nations Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi of the United Republic of Tanzania. Under extremely difficult conditions, the Intergovernmental Group performed an important task and thus made an invaluable contribution to the struggle to end apartheid. We would also like to express our profound gratitude to all the Member States that have contributed to the success of the work of these committees.

Furthermore, we are convinced that the mandate of the Special Committee against Apartheid should be extended until a democratically elected government of South Africa has been installed.

The peoples of our region, including those of Angola, Mozambique and South Africa, are relying on this Organization to play its rightful role in helping them to secure democracy, peace and prosperity for themselves. We are certain that this Organization will not fail us.

We would also like to take this opportunity to reiterate our deep desire that just and lasting solutions be found for the conflicts in Western Sahara, Liberia, Palestine and the Middle East, Somalia and Bosnia. We extend our solidarity to the peace-loving forces in these areas and countries.

The time has not yet come when we can sound the victory salute over the system of apartheid. The day has not yet dawned when we can all proclaim that all the people of South Africa have begun to govern their country.

Until that moment comes, we must acknowledge that the struggle continues, and together we must commit ourselves to continuing our united efforts towards the victory of what is and has been the cause of all humanity.

Acting thus, four months hence, we, the peoples of the world, will have a chance to say in concert that the beast is no more.

Together we will win.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

ANNEX

Changes in recorded and/or roll-call votes

Resolution 48/56

Subsequent to the voting, the delegations of Afghanistan, Bhutan, Burundi, Cape Verde, Chile, Colombia, the Congo, Egypt, Mauritius, Morocco, the Sudan, Swaziland and Tunisia advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.